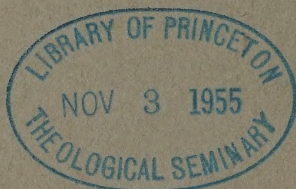


George P. Winship

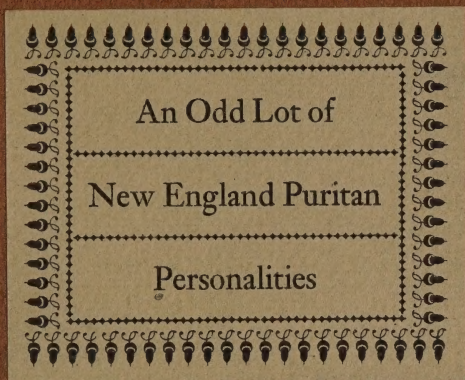
An Odd Lot of New
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Personalities

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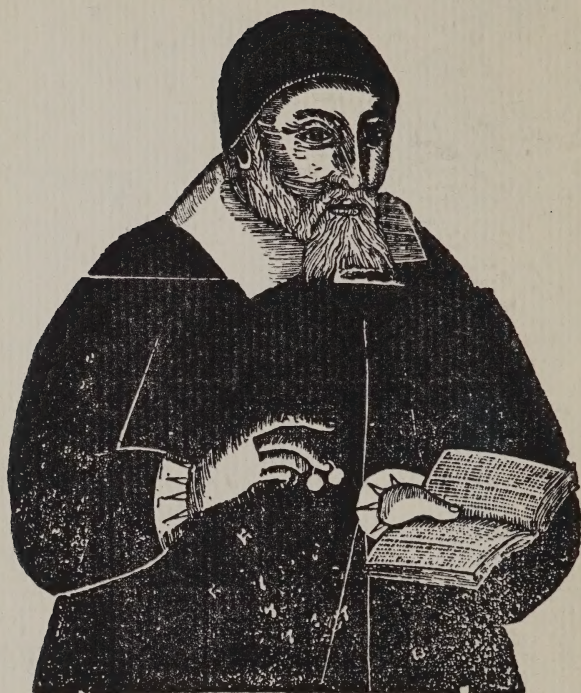
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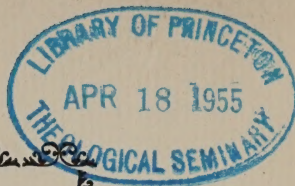
An Odd Lot of

New England Puritan

Personalities[®]



Mr. Richard Mather.



An Odd Lot of
New England Puritan
Personalities
With Some Observations on
THE BAY PSALM BOOK

BY
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP

*There be of them, that have left a name behind them,
That their praises might be reported.
And some there be, which have no memorial,
Who are perished as though they had never been.*

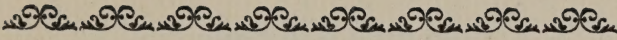
Portland, Maine

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The AUTHOR to the READER

SOME of the statements made or implied on the following pages can not be substantiated by documentary evidence because it never occurred to anybody to write anything about them. They were matters of very commonplace ordinary human experience which were general knowledge in the community, circulating as daily gossip. Circumstances which they, and the individuals who were affected by them, had nothing to do with, have given them an interest to other people who likewise had nothing to do with them.

The truth regarding them can not be proven, and it might be even harder to prove that they do not state correctly what actually took place. The only people who really knew, whose accounts of the events might have been contradictory, are no longer living. Of these Richard Mather was chief.

A few of the statements, on the other hand, are authenticated by documents that are supported by sworn depositions that have been preserved in the archives of the criminal court of Middlesex County in the State of Massachusetts. Some of these sworn statements are demonstrably untrue.

An Odd Lot of New England Puritan Personalities

There were three good reasons why the first Harvard President took in boarders. There are others equally good why he did not accommodate one of them in the college dormitory. He needed the money and the young man in question had more of it than he needed. Also the young man's companion who was in attendance upon him—had him in charge would be equally accurate—was the very first person the president had had an opportunity to associate with on terms of intimacy since he left England with whom he could gossip about English university affairs freely. The richest boy in college, newly arrived at Boston after his four years' residence at the Cambridge college founded by his great-grandfather, would assuredly have been taken over the bumps by his fellow students if he had been domiciled in one of the private rooms in the Harvard Hall.

The young man was William Mildmay of the Harvard Class of 1647. He was the son of Sir Henry whose grandfather, Sir Walter, had judiciously established Emmanuel College as a Puritan foundation at Cambridge with an ample endowment derived from the monastic houses that Sir Walter had appropriated in the name of his master, King Henry the Eighth. It ought to be added that the endowment had not noticeably depleted the founder's personal backlog. His son, Sir

Thomas, was likewise a person of judgment in looking after things. He married Alice Winthrop, whose brother Adam begot John who led the migration to New England in 1630. Thomas and Alice had a son Henry mentioned above. He became Sir Henry in recognition of his shrewd cultivation of the family capacity for finance in the service, both loyally and profitably, of the first two Stuart English sovereigns. When the second Stuart got himself into a jam, nobody in England was in a better position than Sir Henry Mildmay to foresee which way to jump. He allied himself with the party of his mother's family and placed his older son out of harm's way where his cousin John Winthrop could keep an eye on him.

When the extremists, none too sure that the populace was back of them, decided that King Charles must be put out of the way by due process of law, Sir Henry's own position was such that he did not dare refuse to allow his name to be placed on the list of the judges who were fore-ordained to become regicides. He managed so discreetly, however, that he was able to claim a dozen years later, after the Restoration, that he had sought to serve on the court in order that he might try to mitigate the severity of the sentence dictated by the King's enemies. He almost saved his property as well as his life, but the pickings were too lush, and their sources too well known. He only saved enough to make his descendants independently wealthy.

There was nothing unusual in the provision of a

travelling companion for a wealthy young Englishman who was being sent abroad. The private tutor who came to Harvard with William Mildmay, Richard Lyon by name, seems however to have had greater responsibilities than simple attendance and stewardship. William, who was born in 1623, was in his fourth year of residence at Emmanuel College when he was removed from the danger of kidnapping by either of the two sides who both had pressing need of the money of which his father had a superfluity. When William and Richard arrived in the Bay Colony, there is no trace that anybody was surprised that the Governor's twenty-one-year-old nephew was entered in the lowest class at Harvard, or that his name appeared at the bottom of the list of new alumni when he was graduated in 1647. It has even been suggested that one reason why President Dunster began about this time to agitate for lengthening the regular undergraduate course from three to four years, was because this would have given him a lower class in which to enter William. The two paying guests continued to sit at the President's board for three years after William's graduation, until he received his second degree in course without further examination, and then for a year longer. The Harvard annalists have noted, with unnecessary surprise, that the board bills for the two were regularly paid in hard money, at a time when other students ordinarily settled with the college steward with farm truck, firewood, and such-like currency.

In the summer of 1647, when President Dunster awarded William Mildmay his first Harvard degree on July twenty-seventh, the far-sighted men who were directing the affairs of the Massachusetts settlements arranged for the meeting of a Synod or convention to which had been summoned the clergy and lay delegates from all the churches of this and the neighbouring like-minded colonies of Plymouth, New Haven and Connecticut. They all agreed that there was urgent need of doing something to check a spreading tendency to independence among the orthodox congregations of the Independent order. The people who had come from the mother country in the Great Emigration of 1630, and most of those who had followed them during the ensuing decade, had gathered themselves together in church bodies which were united in a common determination not to believe or practice anything that would remind them of the ritual or the services of the Church of England as established by its Episcopate. When they were freed from the threat of episcopacy after 1640, the unifying threat disappeared, and various of the more active-minded of the clergy, especially those who ruled the congregations in the outlying settlements where there were fewer contacts with the more populous communities, began to think up novelties which they grafted upon their parishioners. Several of these ministers provided work for the infant printing shop at the New-England Cambridge by composing a local catechism which should inculcate in the minds of the children who

were beginning to learn to read, the precise form of belief that was to be observed in their community.

These divergent tendencies began to bubble as early as 1636, when the liberals and those who were socially conscious had joined forces to elect the newly-arrived young Sir Harry Vane to the governorship. The Old Guard under Winthrop's leadership went into action and quickly brought the freemen to heel in the first of many subsequent elections at which, as the old chronicler relates, "some laid hands on one another." The colony was purged of the discordant elements. Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, John Wheelwright and a score of others who have been repaid for their temporary discomforts by the glorification accorded them ever since by those like-minded with themselves, sought refuge elsewhere. The clearer-headed leaders won, but they learned a lesson. Ten years later, they moved toward preventive measures before other troublesome ideas, much more widely spread, could produce a leader to head a revolt.

Least among the bothersome problems that awaited the Synod in 1647 was the fact that the clergy of the northern churches that spread out from Salem and Newbury, always suspicious of the faster-growing Boston, had refused to recommend the use of the new translation of the Book of Psalms which had been printed in 1640 at the local press at Cambridge, destined to become famous as The Bay Psalm Book. Even the author of this

translation may have agreed with everybody else that it was not perfect, for neither he nor anybody else ever satisfactorily broached his anonymity. Cotton Mather fifty years later named three men as co-authors, his grandfather Richard, Thomas Weld, and John Eliot, than whom he could not have chosen three less likely to have agreed in any thing—least of all to have produced a work whose outstanding quality is the unbroken uniformity of phrasing and metrical character. The Bay Psalm Book had however one undeniable virtue, there was not a line in it that could remind any worshipper of the superb cadences of the versions that had become embalmed in the ritual of the Established English Church, the Book of Common Prayer. The Synod of 1647 quickly solved this particular problem by asking the President of the College, whose position vouched for his eminence as an Hebraist, to revise the translation of 1640.

The President of Harvard in 1647 had as many things that he had to attend to himself, as his successors have three centuries later. No one will think the less of Henry Dunster if he made use of help that was ready at hand when the task of revising the Psalm Book was laid on his doorstep. Both Cotton Mather and Thomas Prince, who had better means of knowing than anybody since their time, state that Richard Lyon assisted with the revision. It is supposed that he also supplied the supplementary Hymns and Spiritual Songs which make this the first American Church Hymnal. Presumably Mr. Dunster's relation to the revised

THE
VVHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES
Faithfully
TRANSLATED *into* ENGLISH
Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the lawfullnes, but also the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God.

Coll. iiii.

Let the word of God dwell plentifully in you, in all wisdom teaching and exhorting one another in Psalmes, Himnes, and spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with grace in your hearts.

Iames v.

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him sing psalmes.

Imprinted

1640

“New-England Psalms” with which his name is associated was not unlike that of one of his successors with a Five Foot Shelf.

Prince stated that “in two or three years they seem to have compleated it.” The work must have been finished much more quickly. The session of the Synod in June, 1647, had been broken off by reason of an “epidemicall sickness,” and the revision may have been ready for submission to its sponsors for their consideration when they reassembled in August a year later. It cannot have been long after this that Hezekiah Usher secured a copy of the revised text which he sent to England to be printed.

Usher was the principal shop-keeper in Boston as well as a wholesale importer and dealer in foreign exchange. Books occupied a much frequented corner in his shop, where Mather and the other clergymen, as well as prominent laymen, could often be found looking over the lists sent from the London and Continental dealers, selecting titles which they commissioned Usher to import for them. He undoubtedly handled the manuscripts written by New England authors, such as *The Day of Doom*, of which more than one appeared nearly every year with a London imprint. Usher’s English correspondent, doubtless in London, carried out the commission of 1648 by entrusting the Psalm Book to a printer at the English Cambridge. It appeared with the title reproduced on the opposite page. This was the first of over fifty editions of what came to be known as “The New England

THE
PSALMS,
HYMNS,
AND
SPIRITUAL SONGS
OF THE
Old and New Testament,
Faithfully Translated into
ENGLISH METRE.

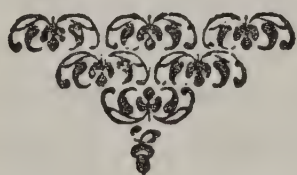
For the use, edification and comfort of the
Saints in publick and private, espe-
cially in *New-England*.

2 TIM. 3: 16, 17.

Col. 3: 16. *Let the word of God dwell in you richly in
all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another
in Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, singing to
the LORD with grace in your hearts.*

Ephes. 5: 18, 19. *Be filled with, &c.*

JAMES 5: 13.



CAMBRIDGE,
Printed for *Hezekiah Usher*, of Boston.

Psalms" that were printed during the next century and a third, as frequently in Old as in New England, and many times at Glasgow and Edinburgh.

There were three editions with the imprint "Cambridge. Printed for Hezekiah Usher, of Boston." Each of these is without a date, and each is found bound contemporaneously at the end of a Bible which they were clearly intended to accompany. With each the evidence of type and appearance confirms the equally convincing fact that at that time it would not have occurred to anyone in New England to omit from the name of their Cambridge the identifying addition which testified to their respect for the elder home of learning. In curious contrast to this is the fact that from its founding it was never necessary to identify in the same way the newer Boston.

The three editions of the Usher Psalms have 100, 106, and 84 pages. The priority of the first of these is established by the fact that two copies of it are still bound at the end of a copy of the Bible with the imprint "Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the University of Cambridge. 1648." A third copy was similarly bound with a Bible with the same imprint until about 1812, when Isaiah Thomas, who founded the American Antiquarian Society, in whose library the two parts are still preserved, wrote on the flyleaf of the Psalms a note stating that he had taken it out of the Bible of that date.

Three copies bound contemporaneously with a Bible dated 1648 should satisfy the most opinion-

ated skeptic that these Psalms were printed at about that date. The argument is complicated by another puzzling fact. The three 1648 Bibles are of the same size, printed with the same type, with the same identical imprint on the printed New Testament title-pages. The copy at the Antiquarian Society and the one now in the John Carter Brown Library are alike in other respects. The third copy is in the New York Public Library, and this one was printed from a different setting of the type throughout. This is the only copy that contains the first general title, printed from an engraved plate which has the same, Cambridge, Daniel, 1648, imprint. An engraved title might have been used at a later time without changing the date at the bottom of the plate, so that the printed New Testament title which is found in each of the copies, is better evidence.

There are various reasons for thinking that the two copies which are alike have been in New England for a long time. The New York copy may have come from England more recently, perhaps a hundred years ago, because it was purchased by James Lenox who bought chiefly from London agents. This is the only basis for a hypothetical suggestion that Daniel may have had his shop turn out a Bible in the regular course of business in 1648, before he received the commission to print the Psalms for Usher, and that Usher at the same time ordered a supply of Bibles with which the Psalms could be bound. If Usher's order called for more copies of the Bible than remained in stock of the

first 1648 printing, then it would have been worth Daniel's while to order the Bible reset for a second 1648 edition.

This affects the chronological figuring. The Usher order must have reached Daniel in time for the Bible to be put in type before the end of the year, in the following March. If the revision of the Psalms was submitted to the Synod for approval in August, it could hardly have reached London before October. The Psalms and Bible were doubtless set up concurrently by several compositors, but the fact that the Psalms were not dated might but not necessarily imply that they were finished near enough to the end of the year to suggest the wisdom of not giving them a date which would soon be past. All of this works toward another tentative suggestion, that the edition of the 1648 Bible at Worcester and in Providence was printed for the American trade, whereas the New York copy was the ordinary English trade edition.

There are also three other copies of the same Psalms, the edition of one hundred pages, which are bound separately. One of these is at the American Antiquarian Society; it is bound in an old, New England type of binding and it came from an itinerant book hunter who operates in northeastern Massachusetts. Another is at the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, and a third was last heard of in 1894 at Junction City, Kansas, according to a letter written by Wilberforce Eames in 1923.

Isaiah Thomas's opinion that this Psalm Book

must be later than the date of the Bible with which he found it was shared by Wilberforce Eames. His opinion was that the one hundred page Psalms should be dated 1665, and he assigned the date 1658 to the 106 page edition because Usher made a trip to London in that year, and might then have ordered the Psalms printed. When Mr. William G. Mather of Cleveland some years later secured a copy of the 106 page edition bound at the end of a Bible dated 1669, Mr. Eames accepted the evidence and 1669 was adopted for the separate copy of the same edition which is in the Caleb Fiske Harris Poetry Collection at Brown University. This left 1658 an open date, and the copies of the one hundred page edition were shifted to it.

The two recorded copies of the eighty-four page Hezekiah Usher edition are at the Boston Public Library and the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, with the rest of the William G. Mather collection. Both of these are bound with a Bible dated 1682. This calls for an explanation that is not forthcoming, because Hezekiah Usher turned over his business to his son John a dozen years before this, and John's brother Hezekiah is not known to have been concerned with the book side of their business.

A comparison of the text of the Usher (1648) edition with that of the 1640 Bay Psalm Book provides satisfactory evidence that the revisor made his changes on a copy of the earlier edition, and that this was sent to the English printing shop, accompanied by the manuscript of the supplemen-

PSALME xxiii, xxiiii.

- 2 Hee in the folds of tender-grasse,
doth cause mee downe to lie:
To waters calme me gently leads
- 3 Restore my soule doth hee:
he doth in paths of righteousnes:
for his names sake leade mee.
- 4 Yea though in valley of deaths shade
I walk, none ill I'le feare:
because thou art with mee, thy rod,
and staffe my comfort are.
- 5 For mee a table thou hast spread,
in presence of my foes:
thou dost annoynt my head with oyle,
my cup it over-flowes.
- 6 Goodnes & mercy surely shall
all my dayes follow mee:
and in the Lords house I shall dwell
so long as dayes shall bee.

Psalm 24

A psalme of david.

- T**He earth lehovahs is,
and the fulnesse of it:
the habitable world, & they
that there upon doe sit.
- 2 Because upon the seas,
hee hath it firmly layd:
and it upon the water-floods
most sollidly hath stayd.
 - 3 The mountaine of the Lord,
who shall thereto ascend:
and in his place of holynes,

E 3

who

PSALM XXIII.

81

4 Our fathers heretofore in thee
have put their confidence :
They trusted have, and thou in them
didst give deliverance.

5 They unto thee did cry aloud,
and were preserved sound :
In thee they put their confidence

and nought did them confound,
6 * But I a worm and not a man,
of men a very scorn :
And I among the people am
despised as forlorn.

7 All they that do upon me look
a scoffe at me do make ;
They with the lip do make a mow,
the head in scorn they shake.
8 Upon the LORD he roll'd himself,

let him now rid him quite :
Let him deliver him, because
in him he doth delight.

9 But thou art he that me out of
the belly didst forth take :

When I was on the mothers breasts,
to hope thou didst me make.

10 I from the tender womb have
committ'd unto thee : (been
Yea from my mothers belly thou
hast been a God to me.

11 Be thou not far away from me ;
for tribulation
Approacheth very near at hand,
and helper there is none.

12 Great many bulls on every side
have me encompassed :
The mighty bulls of Bashan have
me round environ'd.

13 With their wide open'd mouths
they gaping so appear : (on me
As if that each a ravening
and roaring lion were.

14 Like waters I am spilt, my bones
disjointed are likewise.
Like unto melted wax, my heart
amidst my bowels lies.

15 My strength is like a postherd
(dry'd,
my tongue eke cleaveth fast
Unto my jaws ; and to the dust
of death brought me thou hast.

16 For dogs have compass'd me
th' assembly me beset (about,
Of wicked ones, they pierced
through

my hands and eke my feet.
17 My bones I may them number all ;
they look'd, they did me view.

18 My clothes among them they did
lots for my coat they threw, (part :
19 But thou LORD, be not far, my
strength,

haste thou to succour me.
20 My soul from sword, my darling
the power of dogs set free. (from

21 Out from the lions mouth also
thou savedst that I were !

For thou from horns of Unicorns
didst me vouchsafe to hear.

22 Thy name I will declare to them
that brethren are to me :
Amidst the congregation I
will praises give to thee.

23 Ye that do fear the LORD, him
all Jacobs seed do ye (praise,
Him glorifie, and dread him all
ye Israels seed that be.

24 For he th' affliction of the poor
loaths not, nor doth despise :
Nor hides his face from him, but
when unto him he cries. (hears

25 Within the congregation great,
my praise is of thee still :
Before them that him reverence,
perform my vows I will.

26 The meek shall ear and be suffic'd :
Jehovah praise shall they
That do him seek ; your heart shall
unto perpetuall ay, (live

27 All th' ends of th' earth remember
and turn unto the LORD : (shall
And thee all heathen families
to worship shall accord.

28 Because unto Jehovah doth
the Kingdom appertain :
Likewise among the nations he
is Ruler Sovereign.

29 Earth's fat ones eat and worship
all who to dust descend. (shall
(Who cannot keep alive his soul) —
before his face shall bend.

30 With service a posterity
him shall attend upon : (be
Which to the LORD shall counted
a generation. (cousness

31 Come shall they, and his rigour
by them declar'd shall be ;
Unto a people yet unborn,
that done this thing hath he.

PSALM XXIII.
A Psalm of David.

THE LORD to me a thepherd is,
want therefore shall not I.

2 He in the folds of tender grafs
doth make me down to lye :

3 He leads me to the waters still.
4 Restore my soul doth he ;

5 In paths of righteousness he will
for his name's sake lead me.

6 In valley of deaths shade although
I walk, I'll fear none ill ;

7 For thou with me thy rod, also
thy staff me comfort wilt.

8 Thou hast fore me a table spread,
in presence of my foes :

9 Thou dost anoint with oyl my head,
my cup it over-flows.

10 Goodness and mercy my dayes all
shall surely follow me :

11 And in the Lord's house dwell I shall
so long as dayes shal be.

PSAL.

tary Hymns and Spiritual Songs. The only evidence that the manuscript included specific directions stating how the authors wanted the volume to be arranged, is the fact that it is not likely that any printer accustomed to book making would have arranged the material in the way in which it appeared in this publication.

The new title is followed, naturally, by the Preface taken without change from the 1640 book. This filled exactly four pages. At the top of the next page is a brief address To the Godly Reader. The lower portion of this page, and two inches of the first column overleaf, contain the most curious feature of the publication, which must be seen to be appreciated.

Then comes The Song of Moses, The Prophetical Song of Moses, The Song of Deborah and Barak, The Song of Hannah, and David's Elegy. The text of the Psalms begins in the middle of page twelve, and ends with six lines on page ninety. Immediately following this is the Song of Songs:

- L**Et him with kisses in his mouth,
be pleased me to kiss:
because much better than the wine
thy loving kindness is.
- 2 Thy wine as pour'd forth ointment is,
because of that sweet smell
Of thy good ointment, therefore do
the Virgins love thee well.
- 3 O know thou me, and readily
we will run after thee:
Unto his secret chambers hath
the King conducted me.

- 4 O daughters of Jerusalem,
I am a comely one.
Though black as Kedars tents, and as
curtains of Solomon.
- 8 Most fair of women know'st thou not
then by the flocks steps go:
Forth on thy way by shepherds tents
feed thou thy kids also.
- 9 To troops of horse in Pharaohs coach,
my love, I thee compare.
- 10 Thy neck with chains, with jewels tows
thy cheeks full comely are,
- 11 Borders of gold with silver studs,
for thee make up we will:
- 12 Whilst that ye King at table sits,
my spikenard yield her smell.
- 13 Like as of myrrh a bundle, is
my well-belov'd to me:
Through all the night betwixt my breasts
his lodging place shall be.

CHAPTER VIII

- 5 There where thy mother thee conceiv'd
under the apple tree
Where she thee bore that brought thee forth
I there upraised thee.
- 6 Me as a seal set on thy heart,
as on thine arm a seal
For love is strong as death, and fierce
as hell, is jealous zeal.
The coals thereof are coals of fire
most ardent is its flame.
- 7 Much waters cannot quench this love
nor can floods drown the same.
If all the substance of his house
a man would give for love
He ne' retheless would utterly
a price contemned prove.

The unabridged text of the Song of Solomon, which was reprinted in successive editions of these Psalms for more than a century, is the longest of the Spiritual Songs which as the revisors explained "To the Godly Reader" "were inspired by the holy Ghost, to holy men of old, for the edification and comfort of the Church and People of God in all ensuing ages to the end of the world. And for these holy ends we have with special care and diligence translated them into such Meters as are most usual and suitable for such holy Poems, in our language, having a special eye both to the gravity of the phrase of Sacred Writ, and sweetness of the Verse."

The Songs in the Prophet Isaiah come next:

Now I to my beloved will
A song of my loves vine-yard sing,

Of less general interest at a later date are The Song of Hezekiah, after his Recovery from Sickness, The Lamentations of Jeremiah, The Prayer of Jonah to the Lord His God out of the Fishes Belly, A Prayer of Habbakkuk the Prophet upon Sigionoth, The Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the songs of the Four Beasts, of the Elders, of the Angels, of All the Creatures, of the Innumerable Multitude of Saints, and three others from the Book of Revelation, ending with The Song of Moses and of the Lamb:

Of them also that served him
the blood aveng'd hath hee.
Out of her hand, for she it shed,
Amen, the Lord praise yee.

The title on the opposite page is that of the first edition of the revision printed in America.

T H E
PSALMS
HYMNS And SPIRITUAL
S O N G S

Of the Old and New Test-
ament, *faithfully* translated
into *ENGLISH* metre,

For the use, edification, and comfort
of the *Saints*, in publick, & private.
especially in New-England.

2 Tim : 3. 16, 17.

Col 3. 16. *Let the word of God dwell in
you richly in all wisdom, teaching & ad-
monishing one another in Psalms, Hymns,
and Spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord
with grace in your hearts.*

Ephc : 5. 18, 19. *'Bee filled with &c.*

James 5. 13.

Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg
in New-England. 1 6 5 1.

Samuel Green was not a trained printer, but was apparently a political appointee placed in control of the press that had been operated by Matthew Day until his death in 1649. At that time the ultra-conservative country members of the General Court or legislature had become anxiously aware that the president of the college was showing signs of anti-paedo-baptist ideas, and it is believed that they managed the appointment of a successor to Day of whose orthodoxy they were assured, who could be depended on to checkmate any attempt to slip through the press anything to which they might take exception. Green was the right kind of person from their point of view.

The printery which had been housed under the Dunster roof in the Harvard Yard since 1645 had come to New England in 1638 with the personal belongings of the Rev. Jose Glover. While preparing for the removal of his family to the Massachusetts colony, Mr. Glover had supplemented a consignment of type which had been entrusted to him, by purchasing a press and its accessories as well as a large stock of paper. He died on the voyage, and after the widow Glover settled herself in the mansion house on what is now Brattle Square, Cambridge, the press was set up and operated by a member of the Day family which came over as part of the Glover party. The chances are that there had been an experienced printer with the party when it set sail from the Thames, but that he, as well as Mr. Glover, was buried at sea.

Jose Glover was one of those well-to-do Eng-

lish clergymen who believe in social security for their dependents. He belonged to a prosperous London mercantile family and improved his financial standing by marrying into another City family of larger means and fewer children. His wife left him an affluent widower with a son and two daughters. A second wife, who survived him, gave him influential university connections and added a son and daughter to the brood. All of his associations were with the Independent Puritan party that supplied most of the settlers who migrated to New England after 1630. He did not decide to join the movement until late in the decade, and before moving his family he re-invested a part of his estate in the Bay Colony, securing a manufacturing plant at Lynn, a corner lot across from the town house in Boston, a mansion house at Cambridge, a farm at Sudbury that his younger son used as a shooting preserve while at college.

Mrs. Glover was a widow with five children when she landed at Boston in the autumn of 1638 and moved into the mansion house at Cambridge. In the spring of 1641 she married the President of Harvard, Henry Dunster. He had arrived at Boston early in the previous August, and three weeks later became president of the college. When she died in the spring of 1643, he became the guardian of her three step-children and his own two step-children, with the responsibility of administering their father's American properties, which included the printery. The three older children soon took care of themselves. The two daughters, heiresses

in their own right, were taken into Governor Winthrop's family by two of his sons, and their brother's share of their mother's estate came to them after he went back to England and was killed fighting for the Parliament. This left Mr. Dunster with his first wife's two children by her first husband to look after until the son, John, graduated from the college in 1650 and left soon after to study medicine at Aberdeen. About the same time the daughter married John Appleton of Salem. There is nothing to suggest that she had refused the rich Mr. Mildmay, but this is possible. Some nitwits are amorous.

Mr. Glover's will left four hundred pounds to each of his daughters. This bequest was paid to the two elder sisters when they became Winthrops, out of his English estate. When the youngest half-sister married, she did not receive the whole amount from London, and her husband went over to find out what was the matter. He learned that the rest of the property had all been distributed to the other children. Appleton thereupon consulted with his brother-in-law, who was now the residuary legatee of whatever could be found of the American properties after Mrs. Appleton had secured the balance of her legacy. The two claimants proceeded to enter suit against Mr. Dunster, demanding an accounting of his management of the properties that had fallen upon him when his first wife died. They appointed Hibbens and Lowell, presumably the leading attorneys in Boston, to represent them in an intricate series of legal actions that ensued.

In the course of these proceedings, the question was raised of the profits derived by Mr. Dunster from his control of the printing establishment. In reply, Steven Day, the father of Matthew who operated the press prior to his death in 1649, went into court on April 2, 1656, and swore to the following paper:

Wee whose names are underwritten, being desired to give an acct of the revenews of the printing presse dureing the time it was improved by Mr Dunster, and for that end haveing spent some time together to recount the severall impressions that have gone forth from the same dureing the time that Mr Dunster had the dispose thereof, we do find that a just allowance being given for the hire of the laborers about ye presse (or at least such as was allowed to the printers) and for the paper with other small expences for utensils about the presse: the remainder of the profits doth amount to about £192:00:00 wch we do conceive is rather lesse than otherwise and this we conceive to be the truth according to our best knowledge, being imployed about the workes and In witnes thereof do subscribe our names this .26.11.mo. 1655. (January 26, 1656).

STEEVEN DAY

SAMUEL GREEN

When Professor Pierce of Harvard was writing the history of the college that came out on the occasion of its two hundredth anniversary, he found a document that shows how Day and Green arrived at their figure for the profits of operating the Cambridge press from 1638/9 to 1652. It contains a series of calculations apparently made by one of the lawyers, or a clerk from their office, from data supplied by the witnesses who were being interrogated. On the last page these are all summed up in a column that gives a total of 192: 12: 01, so that Day's "rather less than otherwise" was exactly twelve shillings and one penny for transactions covering a dozen years.

Among the data supplied "By Bro: Greene" for the period beginning with 1649 is the following entry:

The psalm Booke. 2000 bookes 12 sheets at		
.12d. a booke. to Mr Usher. & .15d. the other		
1000 to Mr Whaley Lion & Brooke		112: 10: 00
abate for printing		40. 00. 00
for paper		30. 00. 00
Rest	42. 10. 00	42. 10. 00
but ye prenter sayth he gott		
.50 lbs. by ye psalms besides		
the bookes he gave away.		

What this means is not easy to guess, and the fact that Whaley Lion and Brooke have not been identified does not make it easier. It seems unlikely that Richard Lyon would have bought copies of his own book, when the printer had them to give to his friends. The sole surviving copy confirms the statement that there were twelve sheets for each copy. The book was put to press with sixteen tiny pages on each side of the sheet of paper. This meant that the charge per sheet for composition might properly have been high. The figure for the paper works out at a higher price per ream than for other publications on the list, but the extant copy again confirms this by being on a much better grade of paper than was usually used. There is no ground for suspecting Green's statement as to the size of the edition, or the suggestion of the post-script that he allowed a liberal overrun for himself. He undoubtedly knew the wholesale price at which copies were sold, and Usher as the principal patron of the press might properly command a lower price.

The important question is the reason that led Green to confess that he got twenty per cent more for this job, than he stated when he was being questioned. Taking all the circumstances into account, there are two likely possibilities. One of these is that Mr. Lyon may have wanted this edition, which was printed under the roof of the house in which he had been living for seven years, to be produced with extra care and on especially good paper. He might have led young Mr. Mildmay to take an interest in it which would have justified him in slipping the extra cost into their expense account. This might explain how the pious Brother Green came to add twenty per cent to his bill. If he incautiously let his acquaintances know what he had done to their English visitors, it is just possible that when Green said that the printing of the 1651 Psalm Book cost forty pounds, somebody let out a hoot that brought Green to the confessional.





This Keepsake number fourteen has been set in Linotype Janson with Linotype special italic. Five hundred copies have been printed by The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine, in the month of March, 1942



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